Survey

AL-MUSHIR

THEOLOGICAL JOURNAL OF THE CHRISTIAN STUDY CENTRE
RAWALPINDI, PAKISTAN

Registered L. No. 7295

Vol XXVIII | SUMMER 1986 | No 2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ENGLISH SECTION

				Page
Editorial				
The Freedom Movement Revisited, Part II: A Comparison of Histories	..	J. A. Tebbe	..	35
The Importance of Regional Languages in Pakistan	..	J. S. Addleton	..	55
News from the Country	..	C. Bouma	..	81
News from the Christian Community	..	J. A. Tebbe	..	86

URDU SECTION

Editorial				
Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry (Part IV)	..	C. Amjad-Ali and D. Moghal	..	28
Habakkuk: The Historical Perspective of Revelation	..	Y. Jalil	..	39

acc. no. 1818

CONCLUSION

FM was written over a number of years by a broad range of authors. Yet it demonstrates a more consistent ideological base than does TP. In FM Islam is interpreted primarily as a political movement and a personal religion. FM regularly distances itself from extreme conservatism and shows a distaste for strong religious movments.

TP on the other hand is more ambiguous in its position. In answer to our question of the extent to which TP reflects modernism versus traditionalism, we now conclude it is not totally clear. There is manifest indication that traditionalism has come to have some influence in the interpretation of history in the country. In the part of the book covering the years up to the 1857 Freedom War, the traditionalist ideology is developed in such a way as to portray Pakistan as the result of religious renewal and revival in the subcontinent. Ahmad Sirhindi is the key to this interpretation. During the Freedom Movement years of 1857-1947 TP largely reflects the Islamic modernist interpretation. The traditionalist ideology only comes out in a few superimposed events and assessments. The parallel development of traditionalist education and influence during those years is left relatively untouched. With independence the authors seem to demonstrate caution more than any particular ideological perspective. Nevertheless, TP portrays the country as slowly evolving towards a truly Islamic state. The problems of the country are attributed primarily to counter-Islamic forces that were allowed to go unchecked. Just as other scholars have, so too TP interprets the 1973 Constitution as a victory for the traditionalist ideology. TP has not been updated to cover events of recent years. Rather it ends with the confident faith that this 1973 constitutional document, properly implemented, will bring about an Islamic state and society.

Thus, as traditionalism is presently in ascendency in the country, so it has the edge over modernism in TP. But the book demonstrates no consistent effort to reinterpret existing modernist themes. Clear opportunities like the Khalifat Movement and the politicking over Ayub Khan's 1962 Constitution which led to the "Islamic" amendments in 1963 are left untouched. But on the other hand, issues like the Ahmadiyya question, the anti-Islamic forces the 1971 war represented to the authors, and the lavish praise for the Islamic elements of the 1973 Constitution, demonstrate the authors' identification with traditionalism. Thus what seems most likely is that foremost in the authors' mind is to write history in a way that will not offend anyone rather than striving for an internal consistency. Indeed, in this ambiguity TP reflects not just the authors' confusion and inconsistency over this issue but also the entire nation's. For this reason TP represents a reflected ideology rather than a systematically developed one. The authors have been influenced by both the modernists and the traditionalists but have not wrestled with the inherent disharmony in these two strains of thought, both are clearly discernible with traditionalism being the more predominant of the two.

The Importance of Regional Languages in Pakistan

by

Jonathan S. Addleton

Introduction

Language is an important indicator of group identity in Pakistan. Though not necessarily synonymous with ethnicity, linguistic identification has been used to help define ethnic communities at both a national and provincial level.[1] Not surprisingly, differences over language have also been a recurring feature in Pakistan's political life over the past forty years. The place of English in education and administration has been repeatedly debated since independence in 1947 and remains unresolved.[2] Differences over the status of Bengali became an early irritant between East and West Pakistan and was one of a number of issues that eventually led to the break-up of the country in 1971.[3] More recently, linguistic rivalry has played a role in regionally-based political movements, especially in Sind.[4]

Discussions on these and other "language issues" in Pakistan are often both superficial and polemical. There is a tendency to rely on a combination of anecdotal evidence and broad generalizations that fail to capture either the complexity or changing nature of the language situation in Pakistan. At a scholarly as well as popular level, these discussions frequently view Pakistan as a nation of four main ethnic and linguistic groups (Punjabis, Sindhis, Baluchis, and Pashtuns, with Urdu-speaking migrants from North India sometimes added as a fifth) based in four provinces (Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, and NWFP). Viewed through this lens, the language issue becomes a "regional" one, pitting one province against another in a political quest for more autonomy and greater cultural independence.

In reality, the provincial boundaries provide only a rough indication of the distribution of a multitude of languages and ethnic groups. Baluchi is spoken by less than 37% of Baluchistan's households; Pushto and Brahui also have large constituencies. Sindhi is the mother tongue of barely half Sind's total population, in part due to the impact Karachi's large population has on the overall figures. Hindko is significant in several areas of the NWFP, while Siraiki has a base not only in southern Punjab but in parts of Sind and the NWFP as well. Urdu is spoken in many areas of Pakistan, but its use as a mother tongue is limited to less than 8% of the country's total households. On the other hand, Urdu is the first language in nearly one-fourth of Pakistan's *urban* households.

---

[1] Paul R. Brass's *Language, Religion, and Politics in North India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974) examines at length the role of language and religion in defining group identity and bringing about political change in North India. His "case studies" include the role of Urdu in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and the politics of language and religion in Indian Punjab. Though confined to North India, his observations have clear relevancy for other parts of South Asia as well.

[2] See M. Geijbels, "Urdu and the Pakistani National Language Issue", *Al-Mushir* XXVII:4 (winter 1985), pp. 175-189 for a discussion of this question.

[3] This issue is addressed at length in Philip Oldenburg, "A Place Insufficiently Imagined: Language, Belief, and the Pakistan Crisis of 1971", *Journal of Asian Studies* XLIV:4 (August 1985), pp. 771-733.

[4] See the section on "Language Movements in Sind" in Nazir A. Moghul, "Elite Groups and Aspects of Confrontation in Pakistan", *Asian Profile* 5:3 (June 1977), pp. 266-272.

The discussion that follows reviews in greater depth some of the complexities
of language and community on a province-by-province basis. The purpose of the
article is to underscore the linguistic diversity which exists in Pakistan and comment
on some of the ways in which language has been used to help define and strengthen
ethnic community. The discussion relies heavily on census data collected in the 1981
national census. As the figures demonstrate, the provinces of Pakistan have never
been linguistically homogeneous--and have become even less so with the passage of
time. Since the heterogeneous linguistic composition of Pakistan at a *national* level
is already widely recognized, the focus of this article will be on the complexity of
language distributions *within* provinces. The discussion also deals primarily with
the eight languages specifically identified in the 1981 census--Baluchi, Brahui,
Hindko, Punjabi, Pushto, Sindhi, Siraiki, and Urdu.

A Note on the Census Data

Four national censuses have been completed at roughly ten-year intervals since
Pakistan's independence. Despite problems inherent in all such undertakings, these
population counts--carried out in 1951, 1961, 1972, and 1981--offer a wealth of
information that is essential in understanding the demographic shape of Pakistan's
population. Language data appear in all but one of the censuses, the only exception
being 1972. The linguistic results from that census were incomplete and have never
been published, due largely to the language riots which took place in Sind at the same
time the population count was underway.

The 1951 and 1961 census schedules are broadly similar in design and include
data on "mother tongues" for the entire population as well as self-assessed fluency in
additional languages.[5] The 1981 schedules differ from these earlier census reports in
several important respects, precluding direct comparisons and making time-series
analysis difficult.[6] At the same time, these differences are indicative of some of the
ways in which perceptions on language have changed. In particular, it is interesting to
note that in 1981 for the first time separate categories were provided for Siraiki and
Hindko. In previous censuses, both languages had been lumped together with Punjabi.

There are also other important differences. The 1981 census confines itself to
a question on the main language spoken in each "household" enumerated, thereby
excluding comparative figures for the population as a whole. Household sizes can vary
considerably, both between urban and rural areas and among various ethnic groups.
The proportion of households speaking a particular language therefore, while
suggestive of broader national trends, cannot be used as an accurate indicator of the
proportion of total native speakers of any single language. Moreover, the census
apparently did not make provisions for the fact that in many households more than one
language is spoken on a regular basis.

Also excluded from the 1981 census was a question on knowledge of additional
languages, an item which appeared in both the 1951 and 1961 census schedules. This
omission is unfortunate because Pakistan is a multilingual society in which many

---

[5]See Government of Pakistan, *Census of Pakistan, 1951* (Karachi: Manager of Publications) and
Government of Pakistan, *Population Census of Pakistan, 1961* (Karachi: Manager of Publications).
Provincial maps in this article, which were drawn by Jamil Butt, are also useful on these census figures.
[6]Findings from this census are summarized in Government of Pakistan, *1981 Census Report of Pakistan*
(Islamabad: Population Census Organization, Statistics Division). Figures in this article are based largely on
that volume as well as the more than sixty separately published district census reports. Provincial maps in
this article, which were drawn by Jamil Butt, are also based on these census figures.

people ... This fact is not reflected at all in the 1981 census findings, since only information on
first languages was collected. In particular, the low figure for Urdu as a household
language is deceptive because of its more widespread use as a second or third
language in the marketplace.

Several other caveats relating to the 1981 census data should also be noted
before launching into the more detailed discussion of language distributions on a
province-by-province basis. First, the narrative is confined to Islamabad, the four
provinces, and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of the NWFP. This is
because the 1981 census provides no linguistic information on either the northern
areas (Gilgit, Hunza and Baltistan) or Azad Kashmir where a number of distinct
languages such as Shina, Balti, and Kashmiri are found. Despite relatively small
populations, the considerable linguistic diversity of these isolated mountainous areas
should not go unrecognized.

Second, separate information is not provided for several languages with some
regional significance. This omission can be quite important at a local level. For
example, Khowari in Chitral and Kohistani in Kohistan are each majority languages in
separate districts of the NWFP. However, in the 1981 census both languages are
simply lumped together in an all-purpose "other category". Further examples of
languages with considerable local significance which go unrecognized in the 1981
census include Gujrati, which is widely spoken in some Karachi neighbourhoods, as
well as the several tribal languages found in southeastern Sind.

Finally, it needs to be emphasized strongly that the figures do not necessarily
coincide with linguistic definitions of what constitutes a language.[7] All the
languages discussed are distinct and should not be viewed as merely "dialects".
However, regional varieties are such that linguistic boundaries often become blurred.
As noted earlier, neither Siraiki nor Hindko were given separate status in earlier
census reports, though the 1981 census suggests that Siraiki at least is spoken in
more households than Baluchi, Brahui, or Urdu. Linguistic definitions of language are
neither easy nor universally accepted. In a political or sociological sense, it may be
enough to say that a language is a language when it becomes widely recognized as
such. Using this definition, it is possible that modes of speech now described as
"dialects" may in future receive more widespread recognition as distinct languages,
even as Hindko and Siraiki have come to be regarded as not merely dialects of Punjabi.

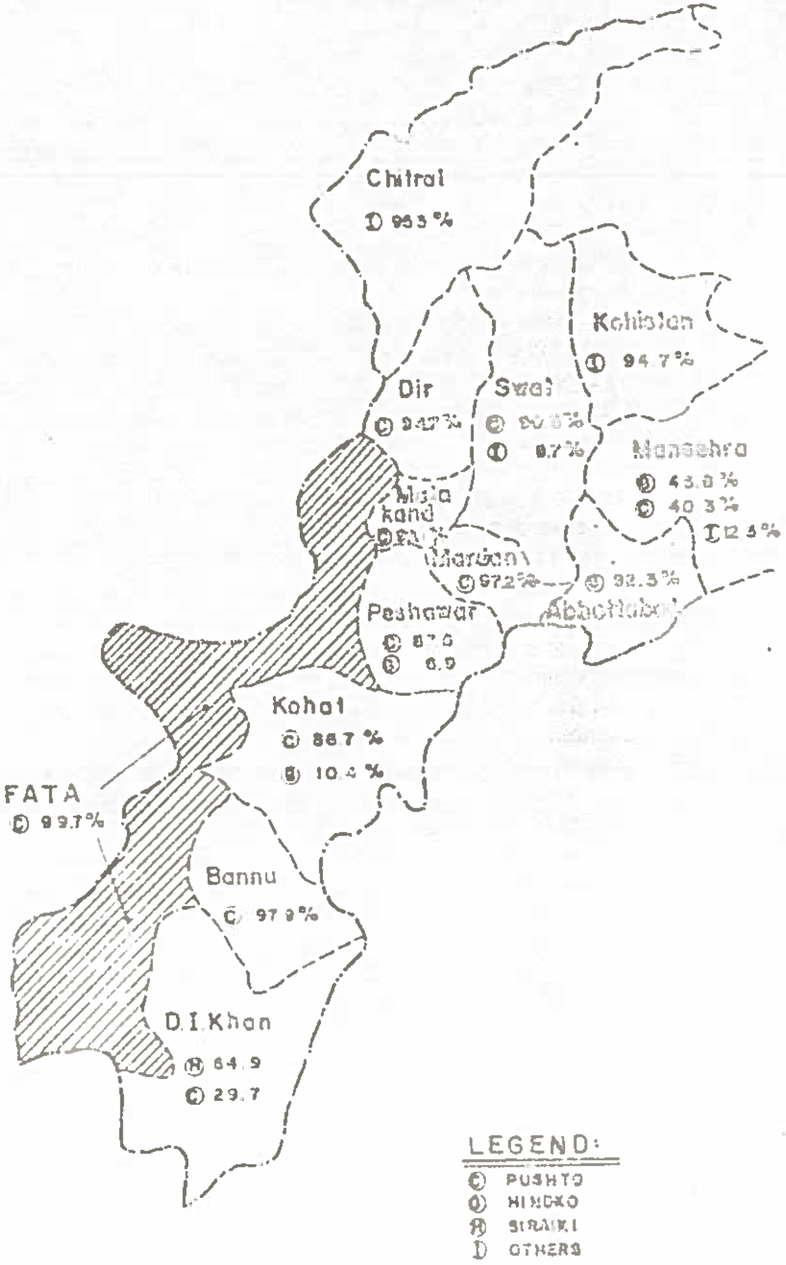
Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP)

Pashtuns represent the single largest ethnic group in the NWFP and Pushto
speakers account for more than two-thirds (68.3%) of the province's total households.
Nevertheless, other significant linguistic and ethnic groups also live in the province,
especially on its northern and western edges. In fact, in five out of the NWFP's twelve
districts languages other than Pushto predominate. Kohistani is the main language in
Kohistan, Khowari predominates in Chitral, and Siraiki is widespread in Dera Ismail
Khan, while Hindko has a large constituency in both Abbottabad and Mansehra. In each
instance, these districts were attached to the NWFP for administrative and political
reasons which in some cases date back to British rule. More recently, some Pashtun

---

[7]Readers with an interest in linguistics are referred to the several volumes of Grierson's monumental
Linguistic Survey of India published in Calcutta between 1903 and 1928. See also O. A. Zograph,
Languages of South Asia, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982.

MAJOR HOUSEHOLD LANGUAGES BY DISTRICT IN N.W.F.P. 1981
ONLY LANGUAGES REPRESENTING AT LEAST 5% OF TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS ARE LISTED



nationalists have suggested that on historical grounds Attock and Mianwali districts be transferred to the NWFP, though in each case the number of Pushto speakers is small.[8]

Pushto dominates in the districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Mardan, Swat, Dir, Bannu, and Malakand. In addition, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), most of which border Afghanistan, are overwhelmingly Pushtu-speaking. At least 85% of the households in all these areas speak Pushto as a first language. While not explicitly part of the "Pukhtunwali" code of honor that governs Pushtun social life, language is an important part of Pushtun society. This importance is partly expressed in pride in a literary tradition that goes back several centuries and includes such renowned figures as Khushal Khan Khattak (d. 1689)[9] and Rahman Baba (d. 1706).[10]

Hindko is the most significant linguistic minority in the NWFP, represented in nearly one-fifth (18.7%) of the province's total households. However, it's overall impact is diffused to some extent because Hindko speakers are scattered over four main areas--Peshawar, Kohat, Hazara, and Dera Ismail Khan. Shackle suggests Hindko simply means "Indian language" and describes it as a "collective label for the variety of Indo-Aryan dialects either alongside or in vicinity of Pushto in the northwest of the country".[11] The dialects, while having a number of distinctive features, are mutually intelligible.

Hindko is most widely used in Hazara Division, the only part of the NWFP located on the eastern side of the Indus. Abbottabad district in particular is heavily weighted toward Hindko, with more than 176,000 (92.3%) households speaking it as a first language. Mansehra, the other district in Hazara Division, also has a large Hindko population, accounting for 73,500 (46.8%) households and representing the largest single linguistic group. The influence of Pushto on Hazara appears to have become more pronounced, due in part to an influx of Pashtuns replacing the Hindko-speaking Sikhs and Hindus who formerly held key trading positions and who departed at independence. Moreover, the proportion of Hindko speakers who also use Pushtu seems to be on the increase.

Fairly large pockets of Hindko are also found in Kohat (where it is sometimes referred to as "Kohati") and Peshawar (where it is sometimes called "Peshawari"). The Pushto influence on the language in both areas is especially strong. About 23,000 households (6.9%) in Peshawar district speak Hindko, while in Kohat the number exceeds 10,000 (10.4%). In Kohat, it is not cultivated as a literary language and appears to be losing ground to Pushto. While Hindko in Peshawar represents a smaller proportion of total households, it is more than twice as large in absolute terms. It has a base both in Peshawar city and in some villages along the Grand Trunk Road going toward Attock. Most Hindko speakers also know Pushtu, while educated ones usually speak Urdu as well. Nonetheless, there is a literary circle that looks with pride to a tradition of verse that goes back at least two centuries. A movement to

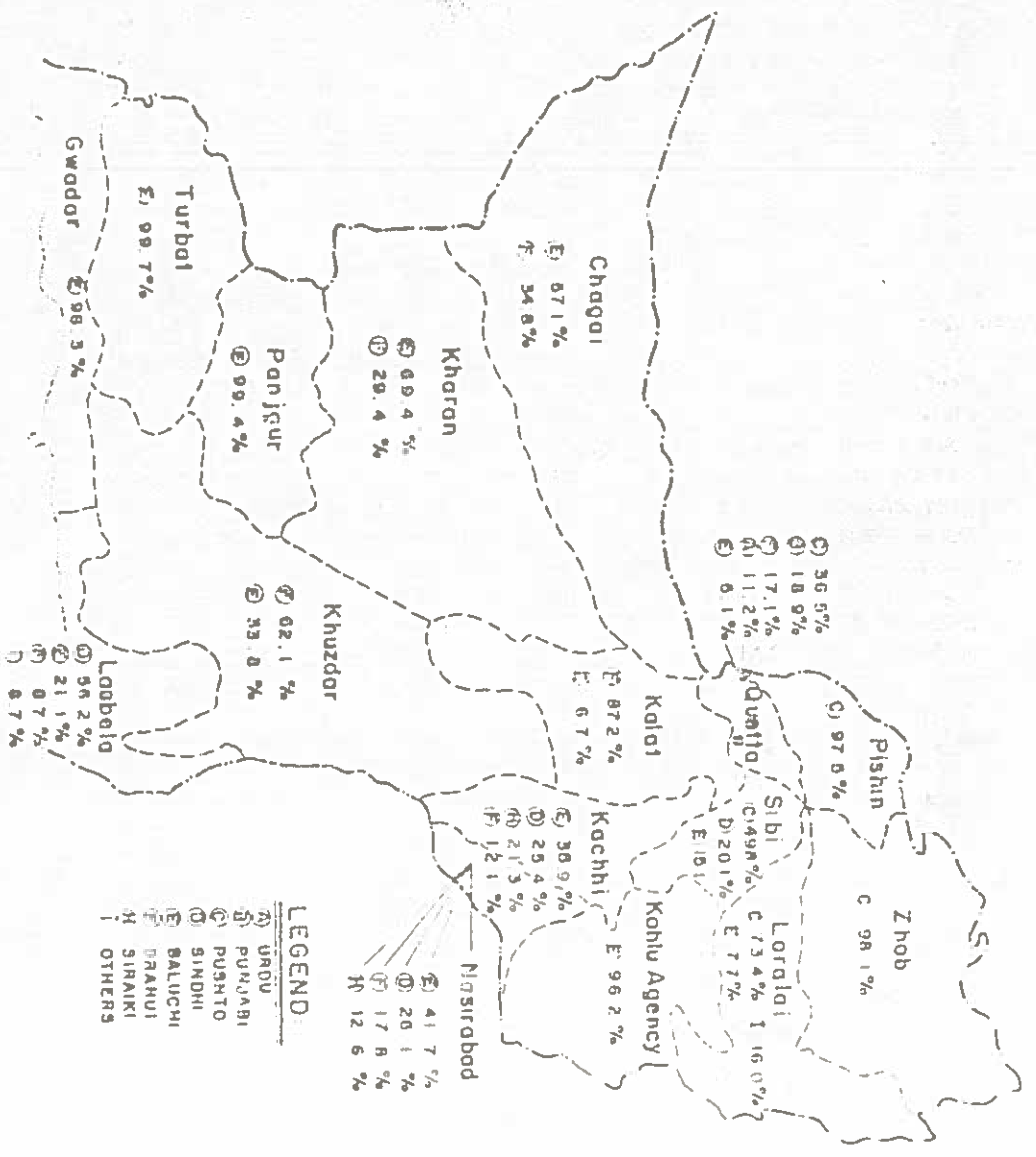
[8] This claim was repeated by Abdul Ghaffar Khan in March 1986 (see *Dawn*, 19-3-86). The practical effect of including these two predominately Punjabi-speaking districts in the NWFP would be to render Pushtuns a minority in their own "homeland".

[9] D. N. MacKenzie, trans., *Poems From the Divan of Khushal Khan Khattak* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1965).

[10] Jens Enevoldsen, trans., *Selections From Rahman Baba* (Herning, Denmark: Poul Kristensen, 1977).

[11] Shackle, "Hindko in Kohat and Peshawar", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1980), p. 482

MAJOR HOUSEHOLD LANGUAGES BY DISTRICT IN BALUCHISTAN 1981
ONLY LANGUAGES REPRESENTING AT LEAST 5% OF TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS ARE LISTED



accord greater recognition for Hindko in the NWFP has also grown up in Peshawar, buttressed by groups hoping to demonstrate that "Hindko is an independent language peculiar to the NWFP".[12]

The situation in Dera Ismail Khan is more problematic. According to the census figures, Hindko is limited to 3,200 (3.3%) of the households, while Siraiki represents a clear majority (64.9%). Shackle provides further information and indicates a more complicated scenario: "The 'Hindko' of Dera Ismail Khan is in fact a northern variety of Siraiki, and--as a result of initiatives from Multan--is now increasingly referred to as such locally".[13] The 1981 figures certainly support this view and indicate that the majority of people in Dera Ismail Khan identify with Siraiki rather than Hindko.

Additional languages with some regional significance include Khowari (the main language of Chitral) and Kohistani (the main language of Kohistan). The Kalash people that live in three small side valleys of Chitral also have their own language, Kafiri. All these languages belong to the "Dardic" linguistic family that also predominates in the northern areas of Pakistan (Hunza, Gilgit, and Baltistan).

Baluchistan

Despite being the least populous province of Pakistan, Baluchistan is one of the most linguistically diverse. No single language is spoken by a majority of the province's households. Baluchi, with the largest single constituency, is found in slightly more than 36% of the province's homes and is concentrated primarily to the east and southwest. The area north of Quetta--the districts of Zhob, Pishin, and Loralai--are overwhelmingly Pushto-speaking, though some of these "southern" Pashtuns have adopted certain characteristics of Baluchi tribal organization.[14] Overall, Pushtois represented in about one-fourth of Baluchistan's households. Brahui, which accounts for one-fifth of the province's households, is concentrated in the central districts of Kalat and Khuzdar. Though less than 10% of Baluchistan speaks Sindhi as a first language, it is the major language in Lasbela district and has some local significance in Kachhi, Nasirabad, and Sibi.

The linguistic diversity of Baluchistan is clearly evident in the linguistic composition of the provincial capital of Quetta. Pushto(36.5%) is the main language followed by Punjabi (18.9%), Brahui (17.1%), and Urdu (11.2%). The high figures for Urdu and Punjabi--more than half the households in Quetta district speak one or the other of these languages--reflect Quetta's status as an administrative centre and military cantonment for the whole of the southwest quarter of Pakistan. Many of the Brahui speakers and Pushto speakers are also relatively recent migrants to the city, which was created in the nineteenth century to protect the western approaches to British India. Interestingly enough, Baluchi is spoken in hardly 5% of Quetta's total households. In this instance, Karachi rather than Quetta has played a far larger role as the focal point for Baluchi rural-to-urban migration.

The tribal group that gives Baluchistan its name is proportionately greatest in the southwest corner bordering Iran. Turbat, Punjgur, and Gwadar are all at least 90%

---

[12] C. Shackle, "Language, Dialect, and Local Identity in Northern Pakistan", in Wolfgang Peter Zingel and Stephanie Zingel Ave Lallemant, eds., *Pakistan in the Eighties*, (Lahore: Vanguard, 1985), p. 327.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 328.

[14] For an interesting discussion of this interaction, see Fredrik Barth, "Ethnic Processes in the Pathan-Baluch Boundary" and "Pathan Identity and its Maintenance", in *Selected Essays of Fredrik Barth*, Volume II (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 93-120.

Baluchi speaking.[15] With the exception of Kohlu Agency, which adjoins Sind and Punjab and is 96% Baluchi speaking, all other districts are characterized by Baluchi speakers living side-by-side with other linguistic communities. Regional dialects of Baluchi vary significantly, but in recent years there have been notable attempts to develop a more standardized language based on a commonly accepted script. Publication of Baluchi manuscripts, radio broadcasts in Baluchi from Karachi and Quetta, and the activities of the Baluch Academy in Quetta have all contributed to the growing sense of Baluchi as an important indigenous language with a distinct literary heritage.[16] Promotion of Baluchi has also been given added impetus with the growth of a Baluchi "national" movement seeking greater autonomy and, in its most extreme form, independence. Yet even when a Baluchi-controlled National Awami Party state government came to power in the early 1970's, Urdu rather than Baluchi had to be designated the official state language because of the obvious difficulties involved in choosing from among Baluchi, Brahui, and Pushto, all of which are minority languages.[17]

Brahui is unique among Pakistan's languages in belonging to the Dravidian linguistic family. Its survival for centuries and its continued use more than 1,000 miles from the more familiar Dravidian languages of South India such as Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu has long fascinated historians and linguists alike. Elfenbein, the foremost contemporary scholar of the Brahui language, suggests the separation occurred as long as 5,000 years ago. Despite considerable intermingling with subsequent waves of invaders and migrants, it is clear that the Brahuis are by far the oldest inhabitants of present-day Baluchistan.[18] Even today, more than 67% of the households in Kalat speak Brahui as a first language and fairly large numbers of Brahui speakers are found also in Khuzdar (62.1%), Chagai (34.8%), Kharan (29.4%), Nasirabad (17.8%), and Quetta (17.1%).

Brahui's relationship with Baluchi is problematic and at times controversial. The Kalat Khanate--referred to by British sources as the "Brahui Confederacy"--was based on Brahui tribal structures and exerted a strong influence on neighbouring areas of Baluchistan for centuries.[19] Even today, traditional tribal *sardars* play an important role in relations with the central government.[20] Baluchi nationalists

[15] For an excellent introduction to this segment of Baluchi society, see Stephen and Carroll Pastner, "Adaptations to State-Level Politics by the Southern Baluch" in Lawrence Ziring, Ralph Braibanti, and W. Howard Wriggins, eds., *Pakistan: The Long View* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1977), pp. 117-139.

[16] M. Longworth Dames' *Popular Poetry of the Baloch* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1907) remains one of the few introductions to Baluchi literature for English readers. See also Muhammad Sardar Khan Baluch's recent two volume work, *Literary History of the Baluchis* (Quetta: Baluch Academy, Undated). Texts and grammars include J. H. Elfenbein, *The Baluchi Language: A Dialectology with Text* (London: Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, Volume 27, 1966) and M. A. R. Barker and Aqil Khan Mengal, *A Course in Baluchi* (Montreal: Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1969).

[17] Selig S. Harrison's *In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluchi Nationalism and Soviet Temptations* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1981) remains the classic if alarmist source on the origins and growth of Baluchi nationalism. See also A. B. Awan, *Baluchistan: Historical and Political Processes* (London: New Century Publishers, 1985).

[18] See J. Elfenbein, "A Bit About Brahui", *Journal of the University of Baluchistan* II:1 (spring 1982), pp. 37-53.

[19] See Nina Swidler, "The Development of the Kalat Khanate", *Journal of Asian and African Studies* VII:1-2 (1972), pp. 115-120.

[20] See Nina Swidler, "Brahui Political Organization and the National State" in Ainslie T. Embree, ed., *Pakistan's Western Borderlands* (Durham, North Carolina: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 109-125.

understandably try to minimize the differences between the two languages, emphasizing the linguistic similarities which Baluchi and Brahui share, especially in vocabulary. Nevertheless, Elfenbein strongly disputes the claim that Brahui and Baluchi are "mutually intelligible" and have become "increasingly indistinguishable".[21] While acknowledging a number of common features, he demonstrates that Brahui remains distinct and "very tenacious and shows all the signs of continuing to be so".[22] Brahuis have at times indentified themselves with their Baluchi neighbours, but this indentification has been neither constant nor permanent. Linguistic differences remain important and have become even more so with the development of literary societies such as the Brahui Academy, the Brahui Adabi Society, and the Brahui Arts Academy. Despite the small number of literate Brahuis, publication of books and articles in the language promises to develop the language even further and should accentuate its unique status as Pakistan's only Dravidian language.

Sind

In recent years, Sind has come to be viewed as the most linguistically polarized region of Pakistan. The perception stems in part from the "language riots" which took place in Karachi and Hyderabad in 1972[23] as well as the political stance taken by Sindhi nationalists such as G.M. Syed. The origins of the Sindhi nationalist movement are complicated and far beyond the scope of this article. Nevertheless, an understanding of the changing linguistic map of Sind provides a useful starting point for understanding why language became one of several issues around which regionally-based political movements have been formed.

Hafeez Malik has rightly noted that "of all the provinces, Sind has gone through the most linguistic shock".[24] Prior to 1947, Sind was one of the most linguistically homogeneous areas of Pakistan; within a few years of independence it had become one of the most fractured.[25] The change occurred not only because of large-scale migration of Urdu speakers from North India, but also due to an influx of migrants from Punjab, Baluchistan, and the NWFP. Karachi changed most dramatically, but the ethnic and linguistic composition of other Sindhi urban centres such as Hyderabad and

[21] Elfenbein, "A Bit About Brahui", p. 44.

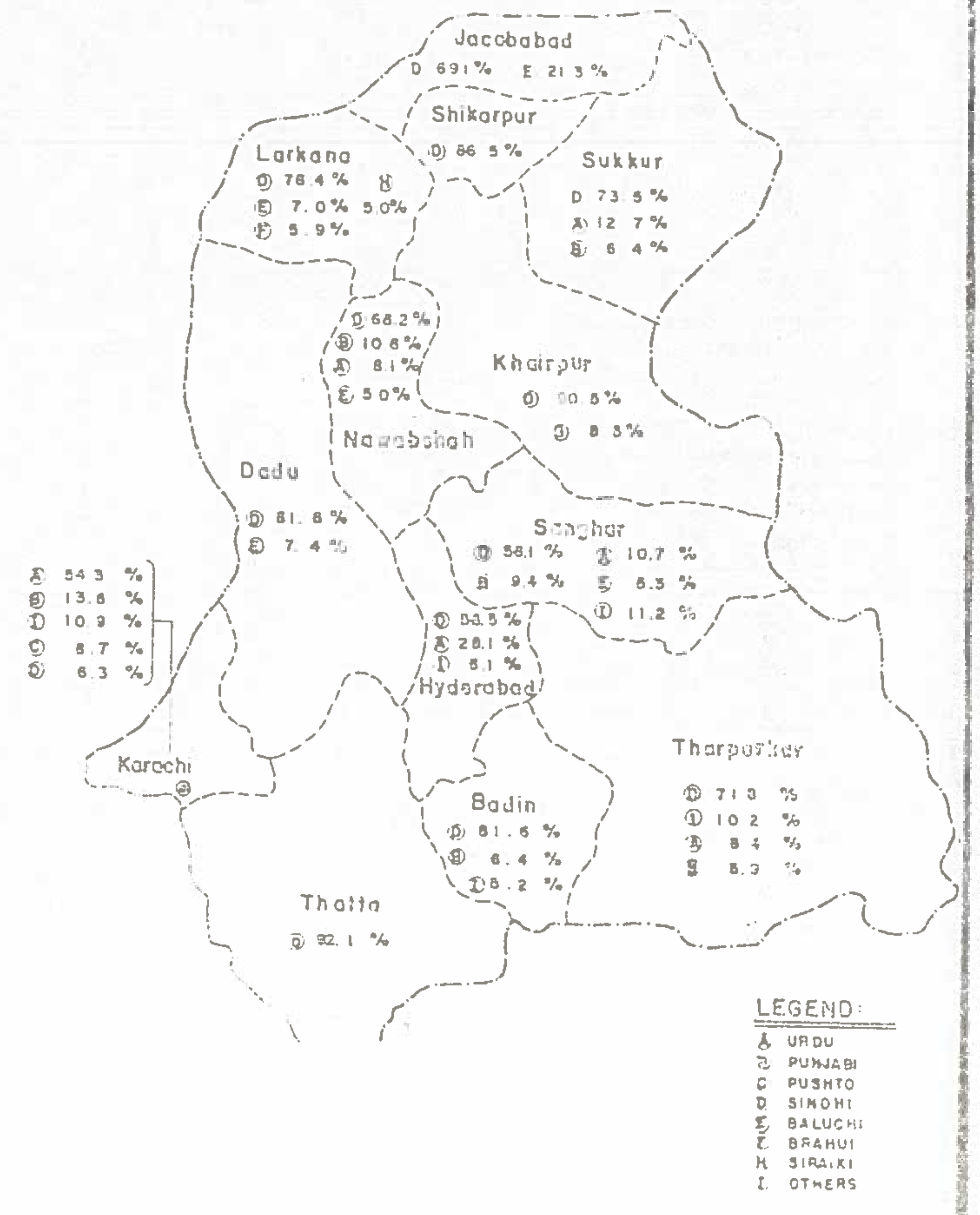
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[23] The language riots, which took the lives of 47 people during July and August 1972, was one of the first crises which the new government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had to face. The state government assuming power passed a law declaring Sindhi the sole official provincial language (all other provinces selected Urdu). In addition, a non-official resolution indicated that government employees who failed to learn Sindhi would lose their jobs. The large non-Sindhi community in Karachi and Hyderabad reacted violently to the proposal and the military had to be called in to restore law and order. (See Khalid B. Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change* [New York: Praeger Publication, 1980] pp. 154-55.

[24] Hafeez Malik, "Problems of Regionalism in Pakistan," in W. H. Wriggins, ed., *Pakistan in Transition* (Islamabad: University of Islamabad Press, 1975), p. 67.

[25] This reference to "homogeneous" should be viewed in a relative sense. Baluchi-speaking communities have resided in Sind for many years, as have Gujratis, Rajastanis, and various tribal groups. Moreover, in a brief but provocative essay, V. Y. Genkovsky suggests that the development of a Sindhi intelligensia during the nineteenth and early twentieth century itself led to the decline of other linguistic groups: "As Sindhis advanced on the road of ethnic consolidation, they assimilated non-Sindhi elements (Baluchis, Rajasthanis, Arabs, Brahuis, and Iranians). Sindhi ousted the languages of these isolated ethnic groups and became a dominant language at the close of the colonial period." See V. Y. Genkovsky, "Sindhi Ethnic Community at the End of the Colonial Period," in Hamida Khuhro, ed., *Sind Through the Centuries* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 180-182.

MAJOR HOUSEHOLD LANGUAGES BY DISTRICT IN SIND 1981
ONLY LANGUAGES REPRESENTING AT LEAST 5% OF TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS ARE LIST



Sukkur were also affected. Some change in the Sindhi rural landscape also occurred as residents from outside Sind were offered grants of newly-irrigated farm land. In contrast, very few Sindhis have migrated to other parts of Pakistan.[26]

Sindhi today is spoken by barely half (52.4%) of the provinces's total households. Urdu (22.6%) is the main "second" language, followed by Punjabi (7.7%), Baluchi (4.5%), and Pushto (3.1%). Nevertheless, Sindhi does remain the majority language in every district *except* Karachi. Major Sindhi centers include the districts of Thatta (92.1%), Shikarpur (86.5%), Badin (81.6%), Dadu (81.6%), and Khairpur (80.5%). On the other hand, its use in Hyderabad (56.5%) and Sanghar (56.1%) is less than overwhelming, in the former case due to large-scale migration by Urdu and Punjabi speakers to Hyderabad city, in the latter case due in part to the relatively recent settlement of agriculturalists from outside the province.

In language, as in every other indicator, the presence of Karachi skews the statistical results dramatically. Excluding Karachi division, Sindhi would be the mother tongue of more than 70% of the province's total households. Viewed separately, the figures also reveal the highly complex nature of Karachi's neighbourhoods. More than half the households there speak Urdu, its highest representation anywhere in Pakistan. Punjabi also has a strong presence (13.6%), followed by Pushto (8.7%). Sindhi (6.3%) ranks only fourth among the languages spoken in the provincial capital, very much paralleling the situation of Baluchi in Quetta.

Despite--perhaps because of--its diminished role in Sind, cultivation of the Sindhi language remains strong. Even in the 1950s and 1960s, the number of Sindhi newspapers was greater than for any other regional language.[27] Sindhi literary giants such as Shah Abdul Latif (d. 1752) continue to provide an inspiration, with their mystical piety and earthy love of the Sindhi countryside.[28] Acceptance of a common script based on Arabic during the nineteenth century also spurred the development of Sindhi publications and modern Sindhi prose.[29] Mirza Khalich Beg (d. 1929), a prolific translator and author of many popular novels, played a key role in the development of modern Sindhi prose. Sindhi today is used as a medium of instruction in primary schools throughout the province and there are Sindhi literature departments in many colleges and universities. The Sindhi language press is also the strongest of any of the regional presses in Pakistan. Given its solid popular and literary base as well as the support of a firmly rooted Sindhi intelligentsia, the future of the language seems secure. Indeed, there are some indications that the cultivation of Sindhi in Sind is itself providing an inspiration for revival of other regional languages elsewhere in Pakistan.

---

[26] The primary exception to this general statement are the Sindhi-speaking communities living in the border districts of Baluchistan, especially Las Bela.

[27] See Annemarie Schimmel, *Sindhi Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974).

[28] H. T. Sorley's *Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940) is the classic introduction to this poet's life and work. Annemarie Schimmel has also written extensively on him.

[29] Aside from the prolific contributions of Annemarie Schimmel, contemporary Western scholarship on Sindhi has been limited. Recent language texts include R. P. Yegorova, *The Sindhi Language* (Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1971) and Hubert F. Addleton and Pauline A. Brown, *Functional Sindhi* (Shikarpur: [illegible] Fellowship, 1981).

Punjab

The Punjabi proverb that states "the language changes every fifteen miles"[30] aptly describes the linguistic diversity in Pakistan's most populous province, *despite* figures indicating that nearly four-fifths of the households speak Punjabi as a first language. The number of Punjabi dialects has never been properly catalogued but would clearly amount to several dozen, some of which have come to be regarded as languages in their own right. Two such "dialects"--Siraiki and Hindko--were for the first time recognized as separate languages in the 1981 census and other possible candidates such as Potwari (spoken on the Potwar plateau south of Rawalpindi) may emerge in the future.

The development of an active Siraiki language movement over the past two decades is especially intriguing.[31] Several districts in southern Punjab-Muzaffargarh (80.5%), Dera Ghazi Khan (73.4%), Bahawalpur (66.8%), Rahim Yar Khan (65.0%) and Multan (44.7%)--have large Siraiki-speaking populations. The language also forms a majority in Dera Ismail Khan in the NWFP and is represented in areas of northeast Baluchistan and northern Sind. Siraiki enthusiasts suggest that the census actually undercounts their numbers since many respondents may have given Baluchi or Sindhi rather than Siraiki as their mother tongues.[32] The term itself is comparatively recent and appears to stem from the Sindhi *siro*, meaning "up-river" or "north".[33] As Shackle rightly notes, "the rapidity with which the term 'Siraiki' has come to be widely used in the Punjab must be accounted as one of the movement's principle successes".[34]

The Siraiki language movement has been centred largely in Multan (the language was at one time referred to as "Multani"), with Bahawalpur serving as a somewhat secondary literary base. As with most other regional language movements in Pakistan, revered Sufi mystics--in this case led by Khawja Ghulam Farid (d. 1901)--serve as the main literary reference point and source of inspiration and guidance. Siraiki literary societies have been established, along with the usual array of journals and conferences. To some extent the language has also come to be seen as a rallying point for a broader set of political issues largely centred around resentment of perceived neglect at the hands of the more advanced Punjabi areas to the north and northeast. This in turn has led to proposals for a "Siraiki" province, demands for which appear from time to time in the Pakistan press.[35]

[30] Quoted in Donald N. Wilbur, *Pakistan: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture*, (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1964), p. 78.

[31] For an excellent introduction to this movement, see C. Shackle, "Siraiki: A Language Movement in Pakistan," *Modern Asian Studies* 11:3 (1977), pp. 379-403.

[32] To confuse matters still further, "Siraiki" is also sometimes used to describe the northern most dialect of the Sindhi language. In fact, much of upper Sindh is bilingual in both Sindhi and Siraiki. Sachal Sermast of Khanpur (d. 1827) and Qadir Baksh Bedil of Rohri (d. 1872), two of Sindhi's most revered poets, actually used Siraiki more extensively in their work. See C. Shackle, "Styles and Themes in the Siraiki Mystical Poetry of Sind" in Hamida Khuhro, ed., *Sind Through the Centuries* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 252-269.

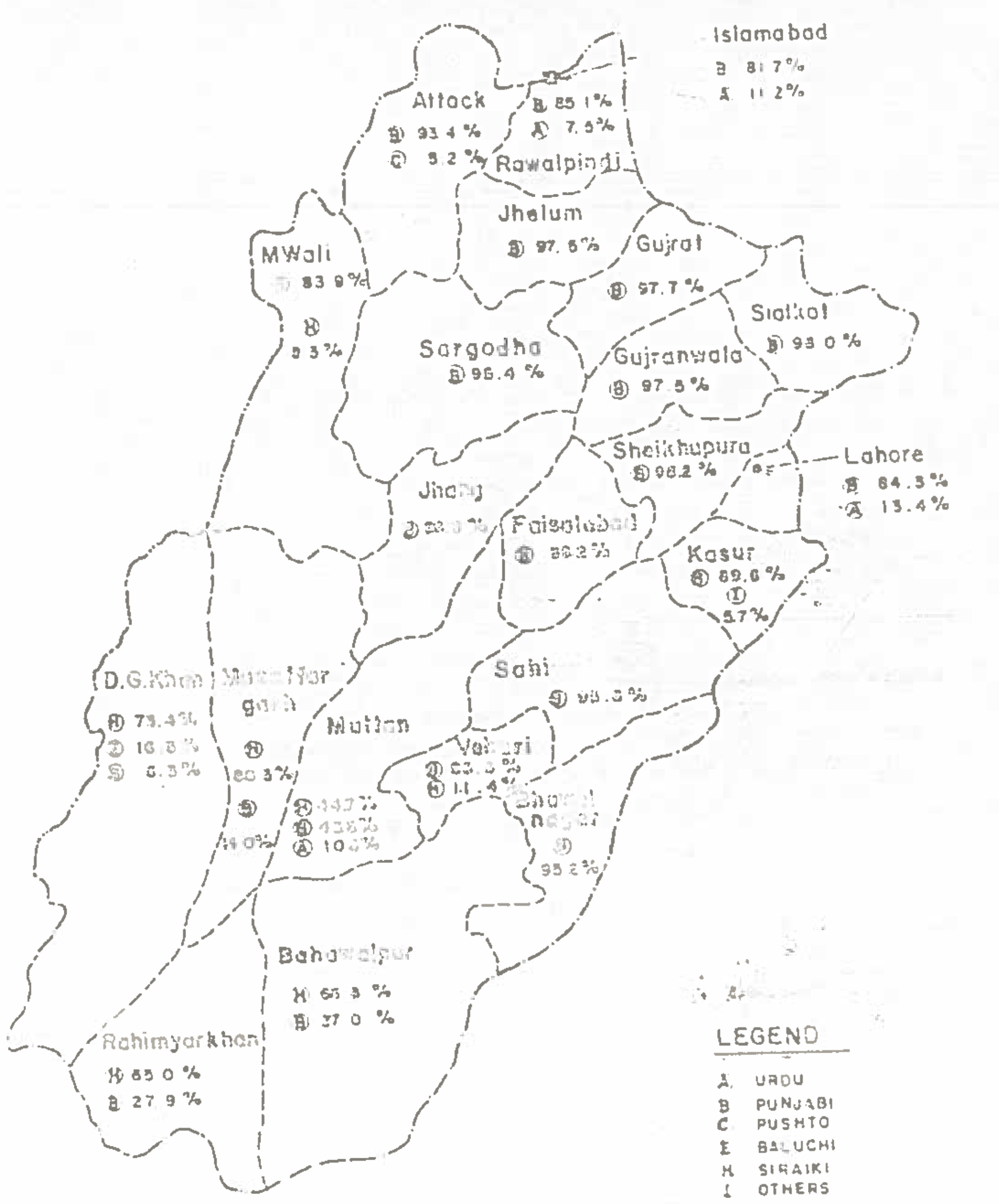
[33] C. Shackle, "Rival Linguistic Identities in Pakistan Punjab" in Peter Robb and David Taylor, eds., *Rule, Protest, Identity: Aspects of Modern South Asia* (London: Curzon Press, 1978), p. 234.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

[35] See, for example, "Siraiki Province Demanded", *Dawn*, 12-11-85, "Plea for Siraiki Province", *Dawn*, 23-12-85, "Demand for Siraiki Province Gaining Support", *Dawn* 12-2-86, and "PNP Council Backs Siraiki Nationality", *Dawn* 20-2-86.

MAJOR HOUSEHOLD LANGUAGES BY DISTRICT IN PUNJAB 1981

ONLY LANGUAGES REPRESENTING AT LEAST 5% OF TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS ARE LISTED



While Siraiki has been undergoing a revival of sorts in southern Punjab, a movement to develop a "standardized" Punjabi as a vehicle for literary expression has also emerged and met with some success, especially in Lahore.[36] To a large extent, this Punjabi revival *follows* rather than leads renewed literary activity in the other regional languages. Despite its status as the major language in Pakistan, spoken in nearly half the country's households, development of the language has faced a number of serious obstacles. The wide variety of dialects has already been noted. Perhaps partly for this reason, leading Punjabi intellectuals have shown a marked tendency to perfer Urdu over their mother tongue. Faiz Ahmad Faiz (d. 1984) and Sir Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938) both followed very much in this tradition, with Iqbal at times choosing to express himself in Persian rather than Urdu.[37] In addition, during the first decade of independence, the promotion of Punjabi seemed to be forgotten in the wake of vigorous efforts to forge a national Urdu-based "Pakistani-culture". Punjabi was even abolished as a university subject, not to be revived again until 1971 when it was once again establised as a M.A. subject at the university level.

In more recent years, steps have been taken to move Punjabi beyond the level of popular music and films into more serious study and literary endeavor. Here too proponents of the language have sought inspiration from a pantheon of mystical "folk" poets such as Bulleh Shah (d. 1752)[38], who have come to be regarded as the logical touchstone for a movement seeking to restore an indentity to the "speechless and culturally lost" Punjabis of Pakistan. As a sign of its strength, the "first" ever International Punjabi Conference was hosted in Lahore in April 1986 and attracted large-scale publicity in Pakistan as well as delegates from three continents.[39] While Punjabi ironically remains one of the weakest of Pakistan's regional languages in terms of its literary development, its potential constituency is large and appears to be growing.

Concluding Remarks

In concluding this brief survey of the distribution of linguistic communities in Pakistan, several points need to be highlighted. First, the distribution is such that *no* single language can claim to be spoken in a majority of Pakistan's households. Punjabi (48.2%) leads the way, followed by Pushtu (13.2%), Sindhi (11.8%) and Siraiki (9.8%). Urdu, spoken in 7.6% of Pakistan's total households, ranks fifth. However, in terms of *urban* households, it ranks second behind only Punjabi. Moreover, while the census figures do not provide information on this question, it is almost certain that Urdu outranks all the other languages combined in terms of its use as a *second* language. Given wide exposure through education and the media (especially radio and television), its use throughout Pakistan is also almost certainly on the increase.

Second, the complexity of language distribution at a *national* level is repeated to varying degrees at a *provincial* level. Urban areas in particular are far from monolithic in terms of their language distributions. Karachi more than any other single city reflects this diversity in its large number of ethnic ... neighbourhoods.[40] By and large, provincial boundaries are also an inadequate indicator of linguistic community. Attempts to define language use in territorial terms are increasingly unrealistic because in many areas several different languages are spoken alongside each other.

Third, language to an increasing extent is being used to help delineate ethnic communities. The Siraiki movement, which has succeeded in differentiating Siraiki from Punjabi and is now attempting to bring about a stronger sense of ethnic consciousness in southern Punjab, is a case in point. Efforts to enhance the status of regional languages in nearly every other area of Pakistan have also occurred and met with varying degrees of success. Especially noteworthy is the way in which essentially spoken languages are developing literatures and strengthening their status through both original and translated published works, despite the fact that literacy rates in all the regional languages are extremely low. Interestingly, in every case promotion of these regional languages draws to a large extent on traditional literatures based on the works of Sufi poets whose shrines continue to help give meaning to large sections of Pakistan's urban and rural society.[41]

Finally, Pakistan's future as a multilingual society for many years to come seems assured. Such a status is by no means unique. A large number of other countries, including Switzerland, Belgium, Canada, and the Soviet Union, have reached a definite, if at times uneasy, accommodation with linguistic diversity. In the case of Pakistan, it needs to be emphasized once again that it is becoming increasingly difficult to define linguistic community in terms of physical space. On the contrary, differing linguistic communities live side by side, affecting other linguistic groups and in turn being affected by them. The need for "unity in diversity" is a common cliché, but in this instance the cliché happens to be true. In the early days of its history, Pakistan was sometimes referred to as a "laboratory of Islam". In linguistic community, as in many other areas, there is room for experimentation--and the clear need for success.

36For a discussion of the early phases of this movement, see C. Shackle, "Punjabi in Lahore", *Modern Asian Studies* 4:3 (1970), pp. 239-267.

37See Victor Kiernan, trans., *Poems by Faiz* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971); and Hafeez Malik, ed., *Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

38See Taufaq Rafat, trans., *Bulleh Shah: A Selection* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1982).

39A summary of the politically-charged declaration adopted at the conference is available in *Viewpoint* (Lahore), 8-5-86, pp. 11-12.

40The implications of demographic change in Pakistan's cities have been quite widely commented upon. See, for example, Shahid Javed Burki, "Migration, Urbanization, and Politics in Pakistan" in W. Howard Wriggins and James F. Guyot, eds., *Population, Politics, and the Future of Southern Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973, pp. 147-189), and Mohammed Arif Ghayur and J. Henry Korson, "The Effects of Population and Urbanization Growth Rates on the Ethnic Tensions in Pakistan", in Manzooruddin Ahmed, ed., *Contemporary Pakistan: Politics, Economy, Society* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1980), pp. 204-227.

41Annemarie Schimmel offers an excellent introduction to this regional literature in *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pp. 283-402. See also P. Lewis, *Pirs, Shrines, and Pakistani Islam* (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre Monograph Series Number 20, 1985).

TABLE ONE:
URBAN AND RURAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN PAKISTAN, 1981

Language	No. of Urban	% of Total Urban	No. of Rural	% of Total Rural	Total	% of Total
Urdu	833,197	(24.4%)	121,842	(1.3%)	955,039	(7.6%)
Punjabi	1,704,951	(49.9%)	4,346,405	(47.5%)	6,051,223	(48.2%)
Pushto	274,427	(8.0%)	1,376,796	(15.1%)	1,651,222	(13.2%)
Sindhi	219,483	(6.4%)	1,259,138	(13.8%)	1,478,621	(11.8%)
Baluchi	59,417	(1.7%)	319,731	(3.5%)	379,148	(3.0%)
Brahui	15,305	(0.5%)	136,653	(1.5%)	151,958	(1.2%)
Hindko	52,411	(1.5%)	253,094	(2.8%)	305,505	(2.4%)
Siraiki	140,781	(4.1%)	1,095,049	(12.0%)	1,235,830	(9.8%)
Others	115,125	(3.4%)	238,071	(2.6%)	353,197	(2.8%)
TOTAL	3,415,097		9,146,780		12,561,877	

Source: Government of Pakistan, 1981 Census Report of Pakistan, Islamabad: Statistics Division, December 198[illegible], pp. 18, 186

TABLE 2: HOUSEHOLD LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY DISTRICT IN THE NORTHWESTERN FRONTIER PROVINCE (NWFP), 1981

District	Total	Urdu	Punjabi	Pushto	Sindhi	Baluchi	Brahui	Hindko	Siraiki	Others
Abbottabad	191,395	1,399 (0.7%)	2,971 (1.6%)	7,054 (3.7%)	339 (0.2%)	34 (--)	102 (--)	176,695 (92.3%)	123 (--)	2,678 (1.4%)
Bannu	95,491	506 (0.5%)	948 (1.0%)	93,513 (97.9%)	5 (--)	3 (--)	1 (--)	274 (0.3%)	214 (0.2%)	27 (--)
Chitral	29,686	31 (--)	21 (--)	1,320 (4.4%)	4 (--)	2 (--)	1 (--)	3 (--)	-- (--)	28,304 (95.3%)
Dir	110,590	28 (--)	186 (0.2%)	104,728 (94.7%)	11 (--)	15 (--)	14 (--)	8 (--)	21 (--)	5,579 (0.5%)
D.I.Khan	97,295	1,507 (1.5%)	460 (0.5%)	28,903 (29.7%)	56 (--)	47 (--)	5 (--)	3,168 (3.3%)	63,116 (64.9%)	33 (--)
Kohat	100,106	500 (0.5%)	2,264 (2.3%)	86,834 (86.7%)	13 (--)	5 (--)	1 (--)	10,413 (10.4%)	23 (--)	53 (--)
Kohistan	50,861	22 (--)	52 (--)	2,490 (4.9%)	60 (--)	1 (--)	-- (--)	30 (--)	17 (--)	48,159 (94.7%)
Malakand	35,983	30 (--)	80 (--)	35,298 (98.1%)	1 (--)	1 (--)	8 (--)	46 (--)	-- (--)	519 (1.4%)
Mansehra	156,944	107 (--)	593 (0.4%)	63,233 (40.3%)	23 (--)	161 (--)	4 (--)	73,528 (46.8%)	6 (--)	19,289 (12.3%)
Mardan	228,775	633 (0.3%)	1,035 (0.5%)	222,313 (97.2%)	132 (--)	402 (0.2%)	6 (--)	3,470 (1.5%)	10 (--)	724 (0.3%)
Peshawar	332,157	8,434 (2.5%)	8,766 (2.6%)	290,762 (87.6%)	152 (--)	24 (--)	8 (--)	22,774 (6.9%)	102 (--)	1,135 (0.3%)
Swat	180,739	171 (0.1%)	213 (0.1%)	163,172 (90.3%)	73 (--)	7 (--)	31 (--)	1,303 (0.6%)	3 (--)	15,676 (8.7%)
TOTAL	1,610,022	13,368 (0.8%)	17,639 (1.1%)	1,099,620 (68.3%)	869 (--)	702 (--)	181 (--)	291,832 (18.1%)	63,635 (4.0%)	122,176 (7.6%)

Source: Government of Pakistan, Assorted 1981 Census Reports, Islamabad: Statistics Division, Various Dates

TABLE 3: HOUSEHOLD LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY DISTRICT IN BALUCHISTAN, 1981

District	Total	Urdu	Punjabi	Pushto	Sindhi	Baluchi	Brahui	Hindko	Siraiki	Others
Chagai	19,075	560 (2.9%)	229 (1.2%)	541 (2.8%)	14 (--)	10,889 (57.1%)	6,639 (34.8%)	11 (--)	128 (0.7%)	64 (0.3%)
Gwadar	17,527	40 (0.3%)	146 (0.8%)	14 (--)	83 (0.5%)	17,222 (98.3%)	11 (--)	1 (--)	-- (--)	1 (--)
Kachhi	42,678	88 (0.2%)	431 (1.0%)	316 (0.7%)	10,586 (25.4%)	16,594 (38.9%)	5,181 (12.1%)	2 (--)	9,092 (21.3%)	118 (0.3%)
Kalat	48,560	165 (0.3%)	225 (0.5%)	1,480 (3.0%)	196 (0.4%)	3,263 (6.7%)	42,348 (87.2%)	8 (--)	29 (--)	846 (1.7%)
Kharan	20,411	15 (--)	42 (0.2%)	39 (0.2%)	6 (--)	14,258 (69.9%)	6,000 (29.4%)	3 (--)	5 (--)	43 (0.2%
Khuzdar	63,702	194 (0.3%)	244 (0.4%)	364 (0.6%)	1,696 (2.7%)	21,533 (33.8%)	39,546 (62.1%)	-- (--)	13 (--)	112 (0.2%)
Kohlu Agency	25,578	26 (--)	199 (0.8%)	339 (1.3%)	13 (--)	24,617 (96.2%)	53 (0.2%)	3 (--)	153 (0.6%)	170 (0.7%)
Lasbela	31,169	595 (1.9%)	405 (1.3%)	567 (1.8%)	17,527 (56.2%)	6,585 (21.1%)	2,709 (8.7%)	12 (--)	50 (0.2%)	2,718 (8.7%)
Loralai	47,930	193 (0.4%)	469 (1.0%)	35,179 (73.4%)	41 (--)	3,725 (7.7%)	158 (0.3%)	4 (--)	503 (1.1%)	7,653 (16.0%)
Nasirabad	56,090	87 (0.2%)	235 (0.4%)	192 (0.3%)	14,641 (26.1%)	23,305 (41.7%)	9,972 (17.8%)	7 (--)	7,050 (12.6%)	481 (0.9%)
Panjgur	19,546	57 (0.3%)	24 (0.1%)	15 (--)	2 (--)	19,432 (99.4%)	16 (--)	[illegible] (--)	-- (--)	-- (--)
Pishin	44,427	116 (0.3%)	251 (0.6%)	43,337 (97.[illegible]%)	96 (0.2%)	382 (0.9%)	203 (0.5%)	20 (--)	13 (--)	9 (--)
Quetta	48,951	5,468 (11.2%)	9,229 (18.9%)	17,851 (36.5%)	321 (0.7%)	2,486 (5.1%)	8,387 (17.1%)	666 (1.4%)	229 (0.5%)	4,307 (8.9%)
Sibi	16,805	389 (2.3%)	725 (4.3%)	8,365 (49.8%)	3,382 (20.1%)	2,537 (15.1%)	645 (0.4%)	4 (--)	688 (4.1%)	70 (0.4%)
Turbat	47,391	29 (--)	30 (--)	22 (--)	6 (--)	47,228 (99.[illegible])	49 (0.1%)	2 (--)	6 (--)	19 (--)
Zhob	40,026	79 (0.2%)	323 (0.8%)	39,263 (98.1%)	12 (--)	52 (0.1%)	16 (--)	42 (0.1%)	200 (0.5%)	39 (0.1[illegible]
TOTAL	589,866	8,086 (1.4%)	13,208 (2.2%)	148,560 (25.2%)	48,865 (8.3%)	2[illegible],208 (35.3%)	121,938 (20.7%)	785 (0.1%)	18,164 (3.1%)	16,650 (2.8%)

Source: Government of Pakistan, Assorted District Census Reports, Islamabad: Statistics Division, Various Dates

TABLE 4: [illegible]USEHOLD LAN[illegible]S SPOKEN BY DISTRI[illegible] IN SIND, 1981

District	Total	Urdu	Punjab	Pushto
Badin	125,037	2,910 (2.3%)	8,013 (6.4%)	742 (0.6%)
Dadu	145,282	5,681 (3.9%)	3,825 (2.6%)	1,473 (1.0%)
Hyderabad	288,932	81,193 (28.1%)	12,187 (4.2%)	4,025 (1.4%)
Jacobabad	137,387	1,534 (1.1%)	810 (0.6%)	599 (0.4%)
Karachi*	808,116	439,160 (54.3%)	110,237 (13.6%)	70,350 (8.7%)
Khairpur	120,868	3,909 (3.2%)	10,274 (8.5%)	273 (0.2%)
Larkana	148,324	3,063 (2.1%)	1,378 (0.9%)	212 (0.1%)
Nawabshah	210,546	17,072 (8.1%)	22,277 (10.6%)	794 (0.4%)
Sanghar	140,797	15,139 (10.7%)	13,299 (9.4%)	1,[illegible]98 (0.9%)
Shikarpur	78,155	2,670 (3.4%)	488 (0.6%)	186 (0.2%)
Sukkur	157,686	19,962 (12.7%)	10,046 (6.4%)	1,382 (0.9%)
Tharparkar	236,604	19,855 (8.4%)	13,677 (5.9%)	944 (0.4%)
Thatta	116,636	2,376 (2.0%)	2,184 (1.9%)	765 (0.7%)
TOTAL	2,714,420	614,524 (22.6%)	208,695 (7.7%)	83,043 (3.1%)

District	Sindhi	Baluchi	Brahui	Hindko	Siraiki	Others
Badin	102,090 (81.6%)	1,064 (0.9%)	165 (0.1%)	253 (0.2%)	3,357 (2.7%)	6,443 (5.2%)
Dadu	118,479 (81.6%)	10,746 (7.4%)	616 (0.4%)	91 (--)	3,598 (2.5%)	773 (0.5%)
Hyderabad	163,196 (56.5%)	3,405 (1.2%)	539 (0.2%)	496 (0.2%)	6,403 (2.2%)	17,438 (6.1%)
Jacobabad	94,985 (69.1%)	29,329 (21.3%)	4,290 (3.1%)	77 (--)	4,536 (3.3%)	1,207 (0.9%)
Karachi*	50,869 (6.3%)	35,492 (4.4%)	3,011 (0.4%)	8,455 (1.0%)	2,835 (0.4%)	87,707 (10.9%)
Khairpur	97,283 (80.5%)	2,452 (2.0%)	406 (0.3%)	9 (--)	5,009 (4.1%)	1,253 (1.0%)
Larkana	116,336 (78.4%)	10,360 (7.0%)	8,783 (5.9%)	35 (--)	7,469 (5.0%)	688 (0.5%)
Nawabshah	139,339 (66.2%)	10,548 (5.0%)	5,765 (2.7%)	15 (--)	12,583 (6.0%)	2,153 (1.0%)
Sanghar	[illegible]3,993 (56.1%)	7,487 (5.3%)	2,323 (1.6%)	94 (--)	6,444 (4.6%)	15,720 (11.2%)
Shikarpur	67,590 (86.5%)	3,083 (3.9%)	2,567 (3.3%)	7 (--)	976 (1.2%)	588 (0.8%)
Sukkur	115,959 (73.5%)	2,761 (1.8%)	317 (0.2%)	63 (--)	4,124 (2.6%)	3,072 (1.9%)
Tharparkar	169,872 (71.8%)	3,999 (1.7%)	317 (0.1%)	49 (--)	3,732 (1.6%)	24,159 (10.2%)
Thatta	107,423 (92.1%)	1,792 (1.5%)	212 (0.2%)	18 (--)	1,061 (0.9%)	855 (0.7%)
TOTAL	1,422,414 (52.4%)	122,518 (4.5%)	29,311 (1.1%)	9,915 (0.4%)	62,147 (2.3%)	162,106 (6.0%)

*Karachi Division, formed out of the Districts of Karachi East, Karachi South, and Karachi West

Source: Government of Pakistan, Assorted 1981 District Census Reports, Islamabad: Statistics Division, various dates

TABLE 5: H[illegible]EHOLD LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY DISTRI[illegible] IN PUNJAB, 1981

District	Total	Urdu	Punjabi	Pushto	Sindhi	Baluchi	Brahui	Hindko	Siraiki	Others
Attock	203,740	1,250 (0.6%)	190,217 (93.4%)	10,615 (5.2%)	136 (--)	10 (--)	-- (--)	1,260 (0.6%)	44 (--)	208 (--)
Bahawalnagar	219,756	6,807 (3.1%)	209,265 (95.2%)	423 (--)	14 (--)	78 (--)	3 (--)	3 (--)	2,905 (1.3%)	258 (--)
Bahawalpur	255,594	10,908 (4.8%)	60,946 (27.0%)	727 (0.3%)	294 (0.1%)	114 (--)	4 (--)	47 (--)	150,575 (66.8%)	1,979 (0.3%)
D.G.Khan	234,055	8,336 (3.6%)	14,850 (6.3%)	763 (0.2%)	104 (--)	38,119 (16.3%)	11 (--)	33 (--)	171,726 (73.4%)	113 (--)
Faisalabad	699,958	9,693 (1.4%)	687,211 (98.2%)	2,069 (0.3%)	200 (--)	289 (--)	9 (--)	115 (--)	267 (--)	105 (--)
Gujranwala	387,931	8,412 (2.2%)	378,258 (97.5%)	783 (0.2%)	26 (--)	100 (--)	10 (--)	32 (--)	20 (--)	290 (--)
Gujrat	363,284	6,459 (1.8%)	354,796 (97.7%)	1,353 (0.[illegible])	428 (0.1%)	5 (--)	156 (--)	8 (--)	25 (--)	54 (--)
Jhang	321,133	9,496 (3.0%)	309,763 (96.5%)	1,328 (0.4%)	45 (--)	29 (--)	41 (--)	29 (--)	23 (--)	379 (0.2%)
Jhelum	208,539	3,292 (1.6%)	203,412 (97.5%)	1,243 (0.6%)	48 (--)	35 (--)	2 (--)	4 (--)	240 (0.1%)	258 (0.1%)
Kasur	246,678	11,000 (4.5%)	221,081 (89.6%)	292 (0.1%)	7 (--)	22 (--)	1 (--)	1 (--)	234 (0.1%)	14,040 (5.7%)
[illegible]	514,872	69,017(13.4%)	433,934 (84.3%)	5,793 (1.1%)	40 (--)	55 (--)	11 (--)	91 (--)	291 (--)	5,640 (1.1%)
[illegible]i	222,486	7,535 (3.4%)	186,639 (83.9%)	9,494 (4.3%)	124 (--)	131 (--)	6 (--)	9 (--)	18,478 (8.3%)	70 (--)
Multan	604,104	63,146(10.5%)	264,432 (43.8%)	3,670 (0.6%)	52 (--)	37[illegible] (--)	70 (--)	154 (--)	270,120 (44.7%)	2,088 (0.3%)
Muzaffargarh	335,406	14,762 (4.4%)	46,797 (14.0%)	3,088 (0.9%)	98 (--)	346 (--)	-- (--)	29 (--)	270,088 (80.5%)	198 (--)
Rahim Yar Khan	266,339	8,072 (3.0%)	74,177 (27.9%)	1,304 (0.5%)	4,218 (1.6%)	1,546 (0.6%)	32 (--)	189 (--)	173,089 (65.0%)	3,632 (1.4%)

(Table Continued)

(Punjab, Table Continued)

District	Total	Urdu	Punjabi	Pushto	Sindhi	Baluchi	Brahui	Hindko	Siraiki	Others
Rawalpindi	341,636	25,745 (7.5%)	290,699 (85.1%)	7,089 (2.1%)	32 (--)	13 (--)	44 (--)	[illegible]15 (0.2%)	995 (0.3%)	16,374 (4.8%)
Sahiwal	587,023	14,573 (2.3%)	561,136 (95.6%)	1,715 (0.3%)	98 (--)	77 (--)	26 (--)	7 (--)	8,765 (1.5%)	626 (0.1%)
Sarghodha	407,666	15,824 (3.9%)	368,944 (95.4%)	1,871 (0.5%)	36 (--)	48 (--)	3 (--)	88 (--)	139 (--)	713 (0.2%)
Sheikhupura	326,744	3,902 (1.2%)	320,808 (98.2%)	515 (0.2%)	34 (--)	14 (--)	7 (--)	2 (--)	65 (--)	1,397 (0.4%)
Sialkot	399,994	4,490 (1.1%)	392,122 (98.0%)	708 (0.2%)	50 (--)	179 (--)	61 (--)	75 (--)	56 (--)	2,253 (0.6%)
Vehari	208,547	9,720 (4.7%)	174,352 (83.6%)	389 (0.2%)	120 (0.1%)	20 (--)	1 (--)	1 (--)	23,676 (11.4%)	268 (0.1%)
TOTAL	7,325,485	312,439 (4.3%)	5,763,839 (78.7%)	55,317 (0.8%)	6,204 (0.1%)	41,602 (0.6%)	435 (--)	2,822 (--)	1,091,816 (14.9%)	50,943 (0.7%)

Source: Government of Pakistan, Assorted 1981 District Census Reports, Islamabad: Statistics Division, various dates

TABLE 6: HOUSEHOLD LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN ISLAMABAD AND FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREAS (FATA), 1981

Area	Total	Urdu	Punjabi	Pushto	Sindhi	Baluchi	Brahui	Hindko	Siraiki	Others
Islamabad	58,372	6,558 (11.2%)	47,704 (81.7%)	2,4[illegible] (4.2%)	107 (0.2%)	92 (0.2%)	3 (--)	352 (0.6%)	59 (0.1%)	1,069 (1.8%)
FATA	263,712	49 (--)	271 (0.1%)	262,931 (99.7%)	123 (--)	26 (--)	7 (--)	52 (--)	4 (--)	244 (0.1%)

Source: Government of Pakistan, Assorted 1981 District Census Reports, Islamabad: Statistics Division, various dates